7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

WELFARE

In a very few cases of total incapacitation, individuals have had to be placed in public institutions for care. Otherwise, the village takes care of its own unfortunates, in conformance with the traditional attitudes of self-sufficiency. A unit of the Lebanese Red Cross visits the village at regular intervals to provide medical care for those who need it, but have been unable or unwilling to go to a doctor in the city. There is a regular, and entirely traditional, mechanism for caring for families who get into financial straits. A close friend of the family, who has learned of the situation because of his closeness, goes to each household in the village saying, "There is among us a family in need. I am going to give them some money; how much are you willing to give?" It is very bad form to ask for whom the collection is being made, and a contribution which is offered under such conditions may be refused by the collector. The strict anonymity which accompanies this behavior suggests that even in such a tight in-group as the village keeping up appearances is a conscious value. Clique and lineage rivalries undoubtedly contribute to this.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONS

Everyone in the village, except for a handful among the very old, are literate. A quite respectable number have received or are receiving college educations. The significance of education in the village will be discussed in the next chapter; here it is appropriate to consider only the bearing which education has on occupations.

Literacy itself is no rarity in Lebanon. In fact, among the Christians, at least, one can safely say that it is the expected thing. Mere literacy alone would raise one's aspirations only above that of manual laborer, in the city. For professional status or for governmental positions college educations are prerequisite. Medicine and the law require additional training beyond college which no one in Munṣif has recently undertaken. The number of positions open to ordinary college graduates which are in line with the individual's ambitions (befitting a learned and cultured person) are rather limited in Lebanon, and many such persons must be satisfied with whatever they can find. In consequence, a certain restlessness and dissatisfaction is to be found among those who have had advanced education.

AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS

Munṣif depends, and has always depended, upon crops which do not require rain or irrigation in the growing season. In order, the most important are olives, figs and grapes. Of these the major cash crop is olives. This has not always been true. Up to 1914 the major cash crop in the village, and in Lebanon as a whole, was the silkworm cocoon, fed on mulberry leaves. Sericulture has not died out completely in Lebanon, and it is still fairly strong in the Kisrawan, Kura, Meten, and Shuuf districts (Février, 1949b, p. 249), but it has long since lost its economic preeminence.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

used as fuel in the city. In the village, brushwood is collected for fuel in addition to the importation of kerosene.

Animal manure is not used extensively as plant fertilizer because it is scarce. Recently this meager supply has been supplemented by British-made chemical fertilizers. Night soil is not used at all.

Animal husbandry is very limited. Each farmer has a yoke of oxen for traction and some have a few cows for milk. There are one or two donkeys in the village. Two farmers keep bees. The hives are formed in the large water jars (*jarra*) described earlier. Several of these, each split horizontally across the middle, are set in a row. The bees enter and go out by the narrow open neck. The honey is removed by separating the two halves of the jar, and half the honey is left for the bees. Some fowl are kept in the village, primarily for their eggs. Dogs are kept by some householders, and cats by more, for guarding and mousing, respectively. They are not treated as pets, or objects of affection.

It is the lack of water which so seriously limits agricultural productivity in the village. The possibility of drilling successful wells, even with modern equipment, is, as was noted in the first chapter, very remote. Irrigation lines, which affect the coastal strip lower than forty meters above sea level, have been extended almost to Ba'ishta from the River Ibrahiim to the south, and to the village of Madfuun, just north of Burbara, from the River Jawz. The Qurni has the misfortune of being halfway between these rivers, at the end of the line in both directions. It is also unfortunate in that since its coastline is more precipitous than surrounding areas, it has a smaller area of potentially irrigable land than the surrounding areas. Nevertheless, it would be of great help to the village if irrigation water could be brought to it.

CONCLUSION

This chapter can fittingly be closed with a series of quotations which summarize, high-light, or give wider perspective to some of the points which have been made. They do not require any comment except that of drawing the reader's attention to their dates, especially those of the last three.

> 1. It is probable . . . that it was on the slopes of the originally forest-clad mountains of ancient Phoenicia that rain agriculture began. (Lowdermilk, 1944, p. 415.)
>
> 2. The effort of the Lebanese has made this country capable of nourishing a relatively dense population. There are few mountainous regions so little favored by nature from which man has drawn such a great agricultural return. (Thoumin, 1936, p. 126; translation mine.)
>
> 3. The Syrian peasant is more like a miner than a farmer. (Himadeh, 1936, p. 92.)
>
> 4. Elsewhere man has cultivated the land: in the Lebanon he has made it. Elsewhere the harvest is the produce: here it is the soil. Man collects and carries to

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LAND USE

Land use in the eight project and control villages

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LIVESTOCK

Total number of livestock in five project villages

Each unit 100 head

GOATS..... Total xxx

CATTLE..... Total xxx

SHEEP..... Total xx

DONKEYS..... Total xx

Farm Organization

The isolated farmhouse, typical of agriculture in the United States, is rarely seen in Lebanon. In the five project villages nearly all farmers live in the *dai'ah* or built-up area. Their wooden plows, harrows, and other farm equipment are stored each day in their houses in the *dai'ah*. Often a stable is connected to or is part of the living quarters to take care of the family cow or other livestock. The concentration of dwellings in our area in the Middle East often results in a considerable expenditure of time in walking to fields located sometimes two to five miles from the village. In the project villages the land lies in a narrow strip. Farms at the far ends require an hour or more to reach by walking.

The share-tenant or small landowner has a cow or two which he depends on for draft and milk, a simple wooden plow, and a few other simple hand tools. These comprise his capital equipment. The field work is shared by all the members of the family, although in the *dai'ah* section of the area there is a fairly rigid division of labor between the sexes. Plowing is a man's work, while rarely will a man be seen carrying water from the village fountain.

In the project area no evidence is seen of tractors, harrows, mechanical threshers, or other mechanized farm equipment except on one or two large farms operated by non-resident owners. None of the project villages has electric power. Farm organization is based upon an intensive use of labor rather than capital. Low wage rates and an ample supply of laborers combine to make the use of labor more advantageous than mechanization. In 1932 the prevailing rate for farm laborers was L.L. 3 (about 85 cents) for men and half that for women per 12 to 15 hour day.

Most of the project villages have a plot of land called the *baidar* where the villagers, often working in common, thresh their grain. Here the wheat or other seed crop is placed after it is brought from the fields. For month after month in the summer, one finds the oxen pulling behind them a *mauraj*, a flat board the underside of which is dotted with protruding stones or jagged pieces of metal. The farmer's wife or a small boy rides on this and with a stick directs the oxen over a layer of grain. In this way the kernels of grain are loosened and the straw is cut fine for fodder. In order to separate the kernels of grain from the chaff, the farmer tosses the mixed grain and chaff

Wheat was listed among the four most important agricultural items in every one of the eight project and control villages. Barley was included among the four most important crops for the villages of Sabadaiyah and Chiftlik. Reference has already been made to the prevailing types of crops grown in the villages, depending on whether the area is predominantly dry or irrigated.

Livestock

The livestock owned by villagers or landlords and kept upon the lands of the villages included cows, goats, sheep, donkeys and chickens. No camels or horses were reported in the five project villages. It was not possible to estimate the number of chickens in each village. Goats formed the largest numerical group, numbering 1,000 animals. Eight hundred and eighty cows, 333 sheep and 62 donkeys were reported (Table IV). According to value, cattle were by far the most important animals.

In the village of Sabadaiyah, Mr. Fuad Mikati owns a herd of sheep head of Holstein. The herd is valued at L.L. 100,000 (about $28,000) and it was claimed that milk from the cows is sold for L.L. 40,000 (about $11,000) annually. In addition to milk, a small amount of meat, goat hair, wool and manure is sold by the villagers. Due to the lack of pasture land, the herds of village livestock are fairly small. By and large the livestock in this region are for the purpose of local power and consumption. Cows provide the farmer with a draft animal and milk; goats furnish milk, goat hair and meat; donkeys furnish transportation for water, produce, and the farmer's family; while the wool from the sheep is utilized by the industrious housewife to furnish clothing for the family, stuff mattresses, or act as a barter item at the market. Mutton is important in the diet of the average family.

Land Ownership

Statistics are presented for only the five project villages regarding land ownership and agrarian distribution. It is, however, evident from available data that the patterns found in the project area applies to the three control villages.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
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[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

(1) Due to the urgency of this report it was not possible to obtain detailed information on the villages in the control area regarding livestock.

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boundaries. The principal source of this cash income used to be the silkworm cocoon, supplemented by wage labor. Third, in regard to kinship groups, there appears always to have been a tendency to minimize (in comparison to other villages) the distinctiveness of the various lineages. Since, however, all village members recognized the same common ancestor, and were therefore all related, this tendency does not necessarily indicate that the principle of kinship grouping, in itself, was unimportant in the village.

Finally, extreme localism was to some degree modified in al-Mansif. Some of the seasonal wage laborers brought back brides from the communities in which they worked — a violation of the principle of village endogamy. However, these cases were rare, and in every one the outsider was at least a coreligionary of her husband. Al-Mansif also had, and still has, a sort of second line of defense, or buffer, between it and the outside world. This is the group of villages, seven of them including al-Mansif, which has been alluded to earlier. This cluster of villages has a name which is used by its inhabitants, symbolizing its unity. Visiting has always been common among the villages, and ties of friendship are many. Furthermore, there has always been a certain amount of intermarriage among the villages. Each case of this was, technically speaking, a violation of village endogamy, but it was a very different matter, in the villagers' eyes, from marrying "a stranger." The unity of the seven villages can be ascribed largely to the fact that the same sect affiliation — Greek Orthodox — is predominant in all of them while the surrounding region is predominantly Maronite. But all these modifications do not detract very much from the picture of the al-Mansif of former times as being a typical "folk" community: predominantly agricultural, inward-oriented, consistent and self-contained in its system of values.

III

The changes which have occurred in al-Mansif began about 1880. By 1914 all the trends were apparently set which have since gathered momentum and wrought considerable modifications in the traditional patterns of life in the village.

In the latter part of the 19th century, three new factors came to bear on the culture of Lebanon which had profound effects. These can be analyzed specifically in the case of al-Mansif, but were certainly felt in many other Lebanese villages.

1. Factory-made articles from Europe began to be imported, with two consequences: first, the lessening in importance (and eventual extinction) of village handicrafts; and second, a newly developed demand for European articles, such as furniture, obtainable only on payment of cash. Thus, an already tight economic balance in the village threatened to become an extremely serious squeeze. Doubtless the situation would have become really

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Table 44. Lebanon: Agricultural Production and Consumption, 1959
(Thousands of metric tons)

Product	Area (hectares)	Production	Consumption	Deficit	Surplus
Vegetable products					
Cereals	258.0	222.0 a/	277.0	175.0	
Legumes	17.1	11.7	45.3	33.7	
Vegetables	15.1	207.8	169.7	5.2	43.3
Fruit	13.3	240.1	198.5	0.6	86.6
Industrial crops	14.1	77.2	98.1	28.9	9.0
Livestock products					
Meat	---	1.3	22.7	16.4	
Milk products	---	6.3	78.4	40.0	
Eggs	---	1.5	2.1	0.6	
Fish	---	3.0	3.5	0.5	
Forest products					
Charcoal	---	27.0	27.0	-	-
Firewood	---	81.3	81.3	-	-
Timber	---	175.0	200.0	25.0	

Source: Lebanese Delegation to Fourth Regional Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Beirut, 13 to 27 September 1959, "Le développement de l'alimentation et de l'agriculture au Liban" (mimeographed).

a/ Total cultivated area, 273,000 hectares, including 9,000 hectares under other crops and 15,000 hectares of fallow land. Total forest area, 74,000 hectares.

b/ Wheat accounted for almost one-half and barley for one-quarter.

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Livestock production is still far from meeting local needs, and the lack of good natural pasture or fodder crops, together with the poor quality of breeds, limits the supply of animal products; these products account for only 8 per cent of net agricultural production. Recently, however, an improvement has taken place, owing to the importing of selected breeding-stock by the Government and farmers, reduction of the incidence of disease and of cotton-seed cake (soybean) meat-meal, pulp and other concentrated foodstuffs. b/

b/ Lebanese Delegation to Fourth Regional Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Beirut, 13-15 September 1959, "Le problème de la production animale".

424 ent farmers. Large holdings, owned by
427 absentee landlords and worked according to the share-tenancy system, predominate, however, in the Bekaa valley, in the Akkar plain and in the province of South Lebanon.

290 A diversity of crops is grown in different parts of the country. The subtropical climate of the coastal plain permits the cultivation of citrus fruits and bananas, while olives, grapes, apricots and other fruits flourish on the terraced mountain slopes. Cereals and legumes are the chief crops of the Bekaa, but cotton, tobacco and numerous types of vegetables are also produced.

259 Large numbers of goats, as well as sheep, cattle and other livestock, are raised, pri-
231 marily as food or draft animals. Sericulture is carried on in many mountain villages, but the competition of artificial silks has contributed to its decline within recent years.

457 The government encourages the expansion
463 of agriculture through the promotion of co-operative credit and marketing facilities. There are no experimental farms or research stations, but instruction in modern methods of farming is provided by the agricultural division of the government's vocational school in Beirut and by the American University.

135 The mineral resources of the region are
316 negligible. Small deposits of lignite, located
317 in the hills above Beirut and Tripoli, are
491 worked intermittently. Salt is also extracted in evaporating beds along the coast north of Beirut. The development of modern industry received some impetus during the war years 1941-45, but is handicapped by the scarcity of raw materials and the limitations of the internal market. Numerous small plants exist for the processing of consumer goods, including the manufacture of textiles, cement, soaps, distilled liquors, leather goods, cigarettes, olive oil and various foodstuffs. The Iraq Petroleum Com-
372, 315 pany has recently established a refinery at Tripoli, the terminus of its pipeline from the oil fields in the Kirkuk region. The chief exports are olives and olive oil, textiles, silk, fruits and petroleum products.

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